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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the findings of a survey of 686 secondary school teachers in England on their involvement in their work and the factors to which it is related. Three facet-free and 13 facet-specific measures were derived from a questionnaire sent to teachers who proportionately represented the characteristics of teachers in all secondary schools in six large Local Education Authority areas. An analysis of the results indicated that: (1) work centrality was, in general, "value-driven" so that the more a job dimension was regarded as a source of job satisfaction the greater was the teacher's involvement in work; (2) the greatest single net effect on work centrality was workload support, followed by involvement in the pastoral role, in professional development activities and in pupil-centered pedagogy; and (3) when seven demographic variables were added, these specific roles and activities appeared to be a function of seniority achieved early in the teaching career. A discussion of the findings elaborates the notion of a "spoiled" career and focuses on the special position of the mature entrant into teaching. Findings are displayed in eight tables and three figures. (JD)

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Teaching in the UK in the mid-1980s:

(2). The Centrality of Work in Secondary Teachers' Lives in England.

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TEACHING IN THE UK IN THE MID-1980s:
2 THE CENTRALITY OF WORK IN SECONDARY TEACHERS' LIVES IN ENGLAND.

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ABSTRACT

This paper follows one given by the same authors at the AERA Conference in New Orleans in 1988. Both are part of a more comprehensive research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (1985-87) and both report findings from a survey of the perceptions of 686 secondary school teachers working in the north of England about aspects of their working lives. Whereas the previous paper was concerned with the experience of job satisfaction, this one looks at the teachers' involvement in their work and the factors to which it is related. Three facet-free and thirteen facet-specific measures were derived from a questionnaire to teachers in 20 schools which were selected so that their teachers would proportionately represent the characteristics of teachers in all secondary schools in six large Local Education Authority areas. The 686 respondents comprised 60 per cent of the target sample.

The facet-free measure of work centrality acted as the dependent variable for a series of multiple regressions which showed that (1) work centrality was, in general, value-driven so that the more a job dimension was regarded as a source of job satisfaction, the greater was the teacher's involvement in work, (2) the greatest single net effect on work centrality was workload support followed by involvement in the pastoral role, in professional development activities and in a pupil-centred pedagogy. (3) When seven demographic variables were added, these specific roles and activities appeared to be a function of seniority achieved relatively early in the teaching career.

A cluster analysis of the data identified four stable groups of teachers who differed in the shape and level of their profiles on the 16 variables. They were named respectively the 'restricted professionals' (37% of the sample), the 'extended professionals' (26%), the 'coasters' (30%) and the 'no-hopers' (7%). The cluster members could be discriminated on demographic characteristics as well as in terms of professional orientation. A discussion of the findings elaborates the notion of the 'spoiled' career and focuses on the special position of the mature entrant into teaching, both of which are highlighted by the cluster analysis findings and which are important issues arising from current government policy.

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TEACHING IN THE UK IN THE MID-1980s:
2. The Centrality of Work in Secondary Teachers' Lives.(1)

Pam Poppleton and George Riseborough

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1. INTRODUCTION.

A paper by the same authors (Poppleton and Riseborough, (1988) looked at the factors associated with two major variables called job satisfaction and work centrality/stress in the context of a study of a sample (N=686) of secondary school teachers in a northern region of England. It arose from a study which explored these relationships by questionnaire survey and interviews, the data being collected in October, 1986. This paper explores the area of work centrality more specifically and in greater depth.

The date is significant since the study was conducted at a time when, as one respondent put it 'the school seemed to have returned to the warm glow of normality' after a time of great upheaval in the profession. Over the previous two years a dispute between the teachers and their employers had resulted in the withdrawal of goodwill by teachers and left senior staff to carry additional administrative and supervisory functions. It was the result of an exceptionally high rate of change involving new curriculum developments, school reorganisations brought about by demographic changes, teacher redeployments and the legislative imposition of new salary scales. In these circumstances it is possible that the association between work centrality and stress was exaggerated since it was found that among the best predictors were senior status and good collegial relationships; hence, the need for the effective management of staff morale. A further predictor was the extensive use of individualised learning techniques which require a high level of workload support and appropriate resourcing of teaching strategies. For these reasons, this paper concentrates on the

analysis of work centrality as a separate variable and looks particularly at the ways in which commitment to the job of teaching may have been affected by these changes.

2. WORK CENTRALITY

> "If you want financial reward and a fairly easy life, then you don't come into teaching, but if you want challenge and variety and. I suppose, quite a lot of demands, then you come in, don't you?" (a two-year teacher).

There is little doubt that some aspects of secondary teaching in the UK at the present time demand a high level of work centrality to the point of exhaustion, leading either to 'burn-out' or drop-out (Poppleton et al, 1986). Equally, there is little doubt that many teachers would be workaholics whatever the circumstances, particularly those 'Type A' personalities, the stress prone individuals described by Jenkins (1971) as people who were 'often deeply involved and committed to their work so that other aspects of their lives were relatively neglected'. The view taken here is that explanations which rely wholly on work pressures or on personal characteristics are inadequate and that work centrality represents the interactions between persons and behaviour settings (Barker, 1968) and therefore, between persons and anything that restricts or expands the range of these settings including the macro-socioeconomic and political climate.

Two kinds of meanings associated with the concept of work centrality are to be found in the literature (The Meaning of Work International Research Team, 1987):

(1) an ideological acceptance of the work ethic which includes a commitment to working as giving central meaning to one's life, and

(2) an affective response to the work undertaken leading to an investment of self in work which commits time and energies and to identification with the job.

This study is concerned with the second of these meanings; with work rather than with working and with involvement in the work of teaching as

it is related to the conditions of that work, the roles and career opportunities it offers and the classroom environments in which it is carried out. No assumptions are made about desirable levels of work centrality for productivity, effectiveness or competence other than those that bear on the interactional thesis expressed above.

Do we have any reason to believe that teachers differ from other workers in the meaning that work has for them? There is certainly a special kind of rhetoric in talking about teachers as people who are dedicated to high ideals and for whom work has a moral purpose, committed to the advancement of learning, devoted to helping children fulfil their potential and so on. Such sentiments describe expectations that their work will be a source of self-fulfilment and have high priority in their lives (Lortie, 1975). The taken-for -granted nature of these expectations ignores post-war changes in attitudes to education in industrialised societies which have taken particular forms in the UK. Our interviews with teachers provided the clues to the nature of this shift from a political consensus about education in the 1960's moving through the 'Great Debate' of the mid-1970's to a political ideology of conviction about educational issues which has come to dominate the 1980's, (Riseborough, 1986) Under the new contractualism of today's profession teachers have begun to tailor their professionalism to the economic, social and technological demands of the late twentieth century and may now have drawn closer to other workers in questioning the assumption that work should dominate their lives.

Where research has commented upon the differences between teachers and others it has normally been in the context of multi-occupational surveys (Quinn and Shepard, 1975, MOW, 1987) in which teachers have formed a relatively small occupational group. Our own previous work on job satisfaction, however, (Poppleton and Riseborough, 1988) showed that teachers (even secondary teachers) are not a homogeneous group in respect of the meanings that work has for them so that one of the main tasks is to explore homogeneity versus diversity in relation to work centrality. When, in the interviews which formed an important source of data in this study, teachers who had recently entered the profession told Riseborough (1987) that their work was an all-absorbing, central life interest they were also

expressing high job satisfaction. But, when some long-serving teachers said that work overflowed to fill their lives, they were expressing the feeling of being driven by the demands made on them and, hence, had low job satisfaction and, often, high stress:

> "I think, you know, that you must have a life after school because if you don't switch off your mind still ticks over about the job. Even if you're not specifically sitting down and marking, etc., there's still something...I don't know...it's very, very difficult actually, the job does sort of take a hold of you."

Yet others, having realised that they they were trapped in a static system, were willing to settle for what they already had and find additional interest and income outside school hours. Though their intrinsic job satisfaction could be high they had abandoned aspirations in order to avoid stress, though it could surface from time to time.
Other research has also recognised different interpretations of work centrality eg., the MOW study (1987) which elaborated three types of work meanings:

(1) work as **instrumental activity** to do with the importance of success, competence, etc.
(2) work as **affective involvement** to do with work as a critical part of a person's life, and
(3) work as **cognitive involvement** to do with the choice of work settings according to value orientations.

These three meanings are embedded in the construct of work centrality used in this study which investigates variations in these meanings in relation to work contexts, perceptions of the nature of the work and teacher characteristics as shown in **Figure 1**.

3. METHODOLOGY.

3.1 The Sample

The teachers were drawn from a large area in the north of England which covered urban, suburban and rural areas. The sample was drawn proportionately to represent the variety of secondary schools in these areas, in particular, the socio-economic character of the schools' catchments and the age ranges of schools which included those for pupils of 11 to 16, 11 to 18 and 13 to 18. All the full-time teachers in each of these schools were included in the sample and, in view of the dispute which, in 1986 seemed never-ending, it was also decided to conduct interviews before doing the survey so that the schools would have some idea of the nature of the research. The interview sessions were arranged with the cooperation of one teacher in each school who acted as research coordinator. The researchers asked that the only principle of selection should be that they had non-teaching periods at the same time, that they should freely consent to talk for one hour and be tape-recorded and that, desirably, there should be 3-4 in a group. Two interviews would take place in each school; one with teachers of four years' experience or less and one with those of longer experience but on salary scales 2 or 3[2]. All interviews were completed by June, 1986.

The characteristics of the survey sample are shown in Table 1. In October/November, 1986 twelve hundred questionnaires 'Job Satisfaction in Teaching?' were distributed via the schools with addressed envelopes to be sealed and returned to the University. One follow-up reminder letter was sent after two weeks and the coordinators issued reminders also. Seven hundred questionnaires were returned, a response rate of sixty per cent of which 686 proved to be usable. These retained the proportionality of the target sample on the sampling criteria. It should be emphasised that this is a cross-sectional study and differences related to age or length of experience do not imply trends.

3.2 The Variables.

Three items which together represented the instrumental, affective and cognitive aspects of work centrality had been incorporated into the questionnaire [3]. They were:

(1) To what extent is success at your work important to you? (instrumental).

(2) To what extent do matters connected with your work occupy your thoughts outside working hours? (affective).

(3) To what extent do you want to know what is happening in school outside your own classroom? (cognitive).

The original form of Item (1) was comparative in nature, asking respondents to compare the importance of success in work with success ' in other things you do ' In the English pilot study objections to this form of statement were raised, particularly by women teachers, who maintained that it was not realistic to allocate priorities to work as compared to running a home or raising a family. Consequently, the non-comparative form of statement was adopted in the English version of the questionnaire, both forms being used in the American version and, hence, reproduced in the various translations subsequently made. It is important to emphasise, therefore, that the English measure of the work centrality variable (WORKCEN) differs from that used by other countries.

Four facet-free items related to satisfaction with teaching as an occupation and with the job presently held, the extent to which teaching lived up to initial expectations and whether respondents would decide 'all over again' to enter teaching now. These together comprised the measure of overall job satisfaction (JOBSAT). One further facet-free item asked; 'All in all, how much stress do you experience in your present job?' All facet-free items were rated on a four-point scale from 'a great deal' to 'little'.

Facet-specific items were contained in three sections of the questionnaire to do with working conditions (33 items) roles and responsibilities (18 items) and classroom practices (16 items). Factor analysis of each of these item sets produced thirteen scales of satisfactory reliability,

(Poppleton, 1988a). They were called:

Working conditions (1) management/morale; (2) teaching support; (3) material rewards; (4) workload support; (5) challenge/opportunity; (6) collegial relationships.

Roles and responsibilities (7) pastoral role; (8) professional development; (9) training responsibility; (10) curriculum/management role.

Classroom practices (11) pupil-centred pedagogy; (12) behaviour control; (13) teacher/pupil relationships.

All facet-specific items were rated (1-3) on two response scales which indicated the perceived presence of a characteristic and its degree of importance to job satisfaction. The classroom practices section also allowed for ratings of the degree of difficulty of an item in practice and its importance to pupil learning and development. A final section of the questionnaire contained items giving demographic and personal information

Most statistical analyses of the survey data were carried out using SPSSx programmes on the IBM 3083 computer at the University of Sheffield. SAS software was used for the Cluster and Discriminant function analyses.

4. RESULTS

4.1 We first of all report on the findings which will serve as the basis for comparison between all the Symposiasts. Percentage responses to the three work centrality items are shown in **Table 2.** It is clear that the reported level of work involvement among our respondents is considerable, varying only between 'a great deal' and 'to some extent.' It is also clear that the distribution of scores on the resulting scale is heavily skewed, the combined Mean being 3.62 with Standard Deviation 0.41. For 60 per cent of these teachers work spills over and absorbs a great deal of their non-work hours while 76 per cent are highly committed to succeeding in their work.

4.2 One-way analyses of variance with the Tukey B test were performed to examine relationships between work centrality and the various demographic and personal characteristics shown in **Table 3.** None of the context variables measured are significantly related to work centrality and only

three of the teacher characteristics. Being married and holding a senior position will occasion no surprise. The significant difference noted on 'Union membership' is readily explained by the fact that the 'small' unions referred predominantly recruit Heads and teachers in Higher Education. The same type of explanation linked to seniority and high responsibility (which have been rewarded) no doubt accounts for the significant differences found on the other 'nature of work' variables.

4.3. Correlations between the three items comprising the work centrality variable showed them to be significantly intercorrelated at between r=0.26 and r=0.31(Table 2). The correlations of each of the three with the 'stress' item, however, varied between 0.07 (importance of success in work) through 0.13 (access to information) to 0.33 (thinking about work outside working hours).

4.4 Turning now to the contributions made to work centrality by items in each of the three sections, Table 4 shows the results of multiple regressions with WORKCEN as the dependent variable. Positive predictors are sharing in the develpoment and implementation of school policies while other contributions come from negative perceptions of the load of after-school work, and perceptions of standing in the community. All these refer, in different ways, to the part that school management plays in heightening or ameliorating the workload and giving tangible support.

Predictors in the section on roles and responsibilities have mainly to do with professional development activities and the time devoted to the kinds of responsibilities which are associated with pastoral or counselling roles. As far as classroom practices are concerned, work centrality appears to be a function of a cognitively based pedagogy, ensuring feedback and fostering relationships between teachers and pupils and between pupils themselves. Included also in Table 4 are the results of regressing other work variables on work centrality

4.5 The contributions of each section to the variance of work centrality are quite low as one would expect from single item responses. In order to gain some idea of the combined effects of the specific aspects of the

teachers' work, therefore, the data reduction device of factor analysis was employed to establish independent dimensions within each section, (thirteen in all). The two response modes to the facet-specific items (degree of presence and degree of importance to job satisfaction) have been called rewards and values respectively (Poppleton, 1989). Each of the thirteen scales representing the facet-specific dimensions had their associated reward and value measures and the problem was to discover the best combination of these measures that would best predict work centrality. **Tables 5 and 6** show the steps in this process.

Table 5, Column 1 shows the existence of three distinct patterns in the section on working conditions when the perceived rewards and values are correlated within each dimension; (i) an absence of relationship in things to do with management of the work setting (management/morale and teaching support), (ii) an inverse relationship in the case of extrinsic factors (material rewards and workload support) which are normally outside the individual's control, and (iii) a positive relationship where rewards are intrinsic to the nature of the work (opportunity/challenge) or to the social environment in which it is done (collegial relationships). These are both valued and seen to be present to some degree.

The fact that the teacher is not easily able to influence working conditions but has greater flexibility in being able to select roles and responsibilities and classroom practices according to aptitudes and values is reflected in the high positive correlations in this section. Teachers did generally perceive themselves to have a good deal of freedom to make decisions about how they would direct their activities and teaching methods though we do not know from these data whether they do the things they value or come to value them from actually doing them. For example, while pastoral work is seen as worthy, it is also widely regarded as a route to professional advancement. Similarly, those who undertake activities associated with professional development such as further study or conference attendance see these as both worthwhile and professionally rewarding, and finally, the classroom practice area is one in which value and self interest rapidly become indistinguishable.

4.6. Columns 2 and 3 show the correlations between each reward and value dimension and the two facet-free variables, job satisfaction and work centrality respectively. All the reward dimensions are seen to be positively and significantly associated with job satisfaction but are generally less strongly associated with work centrality apart from 'opportunity/challenge' (positively) and 'workload support' (negatively). Thus, investment in work may reflect the perceived presence of intrinsic rewards or lack of extrinsic ones. There is a tendency for the correlational patterns with job satisfaction to be reversed in the case of work centrality so that in the area of working conditions the former appears to be reward driven and the latter value driven. This is not the case in the other two areas where rewards and values appear to be mutually reinforcing. It could be, however, that the correlations between values and rewards are suppressing their true relationships with the facet-free variables and need to be statistically controlled.

4.7 In Table 6 work centrality is regressed first on the rewards and values in each dimension separately and our suspicions are confirmed. In general, values do indeed have significantly larger net effects so that the more a job dimension is valued as a source of job satisfaction, the greater the invovement in work (eg., the pastoral and curriculum roles and all aspects of classroom practice). This pattern is less pronounced in the area of working conditions though the net effect of values is greater in every case bar teaching support (where both are negligible) and workload support where its lack of presence is the best predictor.

Kalleberg (1975) put forward a model in which job satisfaction was seen as the result of the match or 'fit' between rewards and values. Applying the same argument here such fits would be indicated by regressing work centrality simultaneously on the rewards and values in all dimensions to give the unstandardised regression coefficients (B) and entering them into equations to give predicted values which represent the 'fits'. When this is done (Column 2), the predicted value in the case of management/morale is given by 0.5 * value + 0.7 * reward and the other twelve predictors are found similarly. Thus, there are now thirteen new independent variables representing the dimensions and the relative contribution of each

dimension can be found by regressing work centrality on these to produce the standardised beta coefficients shown in Column 3.

It can now be seen that the greatest single effect on work centrality is the fit on workload support, remembering that the teachers' perceptions of such support were largely negative. The next largest contribution comes from degree of involvement in the pastoral role and other dimensions which make appreciable contributions are (in order) involvement in professional development activities and the curriculum/management role. These reflect the roles and activities additional to classroom teaching (particularly a pupil-centre pedagogy) which are associated with heavy workloads.

4.8 Thus far no attention has been paid to the personal and demographic variables which are incorporated into the model in Figure 1. Their effects were examined by, first, entering them alone into a regression equation with work centrality as the dependent variable. The rationale governing the order of entry was based on a model thought to represent the development of attitudes to work, (Poppleton and Riseborough, 1988). The variables were entered individually, order of entry being rotated by grouping them into blocks. Since it was suspected that the effects of the first three blocks would, to some extent be mediated by the attitudinal variables, they were entered both before and after them (Table 8). Finally Block 5 was added to represent the other two major variables in the study, job satisfaction and stress.

Block 1; Self: sex and age.
Block 2; Career: highest level of qualification, length of teaching experience, level of seniority (salary scale).
Block 3; Context: school size and location.
Block 4; specific dimensions.
Block 5; The facet-free dimensions of job satisfaction and stress.

Finally, Block 5 was added to represent the other two major variables in the study which, with work centrality, form a powerful complex of factors in work experience.

Table7 shows the values of the squared semi-partial regression coefficients (R squared change) after each block was entered. It can be seen that the proportion of variance extracted by each successive block rose steadily until 30.4 percent of the overall variance in work centrality was accounted for. School context adds very little but it should be remembered that these are school and not individual characteristics, have smaller variances and also represent the objective, rather than the perceived environment. The specific job dimensions make the largest contribution adding 19 per cent to the variance previously extracted over and above the 7.5 per cent contributed by self, career and context. The addition of job satisfaction and stress adds a further 4 per cent only, whatever their order of entry.

4.9 Who, then, are the workaholic teachers for whom work is the central feature of life? **Table 8** When the personal and demographic variables were entered alone seniority combined with length of teaching experience to predict work centrality but, after the entry of the specific and general job perceptions, only seniority survives as a stepwise predictor. It is associated with specific roles and professional development activities and, less strongly, with intrinsic and social aspects of the job. the strongest predictor, however, is the experience of stress.

4.10 Thus far these analyses have defined the workaholic as a senior member of a school staff. The additional stress occasioned for these teachers by the teachers' dispute, during which many of them undertook extra responsibilities, make the results understandable but disappointing in that we know little about the implications of work centrality for other teachers. Our 1988 paper identified, from the interview data, a group of recent entrants to the profession for whom work was a central life interest in contrast to a group of more experienced teachers who no longer felt that their work had any significant meaning. Could these groups be identified from the survey data?

Using the 'Cluster' programme of the SAS package four stable clusters of teachers were found who differed in their work centrality and also their job satisfaction and reported stress. **Figure 2** shows the four clusters

formed from the data on 16 variables; the three already mentioned and the 13 specific value dimensions. These were chosen in preference to the rewards since they indicate the degree of importance that the teachers gave to each aspect of the job rather than their perceptions of its degree of presence which could be affected by chance factors. The work centrality variable has been placed first in order to highlight a group which is significantly above average on this variable, one which is significantly below and two which are around average. Group membership was validated by using the scores of individuals on the discriminant functions to test if they were correctly allocated. This showed an 85 per cent correct classification for all but Cluster 1 which achieved 78 per cent. The group profiles are plotted from the cluster centroids (standardised mean values). The membership characteristics of the groups were found by crosstabulating cluster membership with the personal and demographic measures used previously except that school size and location were replaced by individual schools.

4.11. Two clusters are significantly discriminated from each other; these are clusters 2 and 4 which have above average and below average profiles respectively. Cluster 2 with 26 per cent of the sample differs from the remainder by its high profile on aspects of role and classroom practice though it is not significantly different from clusters 1 and 3 on ratings of the importance of conditions of work. Its members have the highest mean scores on stress and work centrality. Cluster 4 is a small group of 48 members comprising only 7 per cent of the sample; however, its importance is indicated by the relatively low valuation which its members give to all aspects of their working lives. Clusters 1 and 3 with 37 and 30 per cent respectively have scores which fluctuate around the average and contain core groups of teachers. They differ mainly in their status on the three facet-free variables. Cluster 3 teachers score highest of all on job satisfaction and lowest of all on stress. Cluster 1 members have the lowest standing of all on job satisfaction with moderately high stress and average work centrality, otherwise there are no outstanding features.
Crosstabulating cluster membership with the other variables showed that there were no differences between groups in gender or marital status. Nor, except in the case of cluster 4 were there significant discrepancies on

the other variables of the kind which would enable their characteristics to be described with certainty. Taking account of all tendencies, however, they can be tentatively named and the picture rounded out with extracts from the open-ended section of the questionnaires and taken from the responses of those teachers who most closely matched the central cluster profiles.

CLUSTER 1

Cluster 1 contains the highest proportion of well-qualified teachers which, combined with a suggestion that personal relationships are not highly valued. (low scores on collegial relationships, pastoral role and teacher/pupil relationships) leads us tentatively to name this cluster the **'restricted professionals'**. It has the highest proportion of teachers on Scale 2 who are probably the most likely teachers to seek alternative careers if their job satisfaction falls further and the stress level rises. The reponses below show them to express what Woods (1981) describes as 'professional commitment' but of a restricted kind.[1] They are (Ball and Goodson, 1985) "..in general terms academics who wish to teach their subject and, perhaps as a result, see their role relationship with pupils more narrowly." Some examples are:

Head of language department:
What I find depressing and demoralising about teaching is not covered by the questionnaire - namely...the culture gap between an introverted middle-aged semi-intellectual who loves Mozart and the punk-haired alcohol-swilling, self-centred, spoilt, rock music loving, teenager. Almost irrationally I have come to dislike intensely the culture by which most young people live and, by extension, most young people in general.

Second in language department:
Although I have not been disappointed by my job as a teacher, I often wonder if I really wanted to be one. My own education led me into teaching. Since becoming a teacher I feel that I may have followed a different career if I had had more advice at school. Teaching seemed to be the 'natural' thing to do at the time.

In spite of the fact that I do not have a degree, my skills as a language teacher could be used in ther fields and a few years ago I seriously thought about leaving the profession. In the end I think I lacked the courage to do so!

Head of Craft department (1):

Some factors which, because they induce stress, lessen job satisfaction:
(a) undertaking of cover/supervisory duties for 'absent' colleagues. These are usually the 'weaker' staff who, because of their inability to perform well in the classroom situation, suffer 'stress related' illness though they would be the last to admit to this or even be aware of its existence.
(b) colleagues undertaking O.U or other part-time study (usually degrees)
(c) management attitudes, lack of consultation and system; 'passing the buck', expectation that others can do what they cannot; tendency to support the weak to the detriment of the strong.

"praise not the strong lest the weak be envious." (Chinese proverb)

Assistant teacher, Languages:

....I also feel that pastoral care has taken, and is taking, a too important role in the school and that it encroaches too much on the role of the parent besides taking up too much time in the school curriculum which is already fully stretched

CLUSTER 2

In contrast, cluster 2's distinctively high profile encompasses commitment to a broad range of professional roles and practices and so has been named the 'extended professionals'. Their open-ended contributions support such an interpretation and also show evidence of the kinds of stress they experience. They correspond to Woods 'vocationally committed' teachers who have generally entered teaching from ideals of serving the community. They are to be found over all levels of qualification and seniority though this is the youngest group with 30 per cent under the age of 30 and 74 per cent under 40.

Head of Music department:

When conditions are reasonable ie., pay, status, good discipline within the school etc. I enjoy teaching. It is the job I chose to do because of the rewards and satisfaction I thought it offered. I still get job satisfaction and enjoy it occasionally but the physical and mental efforts to achieve that satisfaction are so enormous that I cannot sustain it for a long period! If the pupils were more receptive, less difficult to control and willing to respond, it would be an ideal job.

Second in History department (1):

Developments in teaching are happening so quickly I feel my teacher training is now almost useless. It is vital there is more in-service training for teachers to keep up to date with the latest developments.

Assistant teacher, geography:

I didn't come into teaching just to teach; to me it's everything to do with the school and I want to be involved with pupils not only in lessons but outside...I like the social aspects, the pastoral aspects and find myself in a dilemma. I think they should br part of my role but that I should be sufficiently recompensed for doing them.

Second in History department (2):

I suspect that I'm in an unusual position but I'm not really interested in financial rewards as such. My salary is adequate for my needs (indeed, more than adequate) but whether it is what I'm worth is another matter. What annoys me is the belief that unless a teacher is in front of a class, he or she is not working. Teachers need more time to prepare and mark work especially in secondary schools faced with the new and complex assessment schemes of GCSE..Finally, teaching is very much a personal act which does require the development of a whole range of relationships and personalities. A questionnaire like this is, I feel, too brutal a method of assessing job satisfaction. I don't want to do certain jobs in a school but sometimes I'm glad to be told what to do. Ultimately I enjoy my job and when I cease to do so I will get out. I believe that others should do the same. Did you know there are some teachers who don't like children?

CLUSTER 3

Cluster 3 members have a profile that combines high job satisfaction with low stress. It has the highest proportion of teachers on Scale 3 or above. These are (to an extent) rewarded teachers but, with below average work centrality and in the absence of any marked role involvement preference they have been called the **'coasters'** though this should not be taken to imply a lack of professional orientation. As the extracts show they basically enjoy their classroom teaching but have encountered barriers to further professional advancement

Sixth form tutor:
As the years roll (or plod!) by, as promotion chances dwindle, as pay prospects begin to look grim, as widely acknowledged incompetents continue to mishandle the important jobs - teachers smile and adopt more and more a "9-5" attitude. My degree of active 'caring' has deteriorated markedly in the last 8 years. My only method of obtaining satisfaction is (a) have a good lesson with smashing kids - but the effect soon wears off, or (b) get away as soon as the bell rings...I count the days till the weekend abd the holidays!

Head of General studies:
It's very much a day to day job!

Assistant teacher, Home Economics:

Whilst I thoroughly enjoy teaching, since joining the profession I feel that I have been made to feel a junior member of staff for too long. It is very difficult to become involved with decision-making unless holding a Head of Department job or above.....I feel as though when my classroom door is closed noone really knows what happens inside...how can a classroom teacher be justifiably promoted as a result of such a situation?

Head of Science department:
I enjoy teaching most of the time. I have been tempted to look for another job but the rewards are very great as long as you are on top of the job;

if not it can be very stressful. I could probably get a Scale 4 but its the quality of life that is important. I love teaching but I like to switch off in the evening. It is a hard job but having lots of interests outside is the way to survive.

Head of a Language department:
I used to enjoy teaching and intended continuing over the age of 60. Now I want to get out as soon aas financially possible. This is largely due to the rapidly deteriorating attitude of many pupils towards work and towards authority - and therefore, to us...this affects staff morale generally, so discipline is allowed to become even more lax and one is cought in a downwards spiral. The resulting battles of will eventually destroy job satisfaction and leaves one too exhausted to do many of the out-of-school activities formerly undertaken and from which much satisfaction derived.

CLUSTER 4.

The smallest and the most interesting group, however, is cluster 4. This group's profile, with its low standing on work centrality, job satisfaction and stress suggests alienation from the job. The group contains few members under the age of 30, and has the lowest proportion of teachers on Scale 3 or above. They are generally relatively poorly qualified and, from our interviews, this is a recognisable group of mid-career teachers whose further progress seems to them to be blocked. We called them the **'no-hopers'** and the accuracy of this description was confirmed when their open-ended responses were examined.

Head of craft department:
I AM ABSOLUTELY FED UP AND DEMORALISED.

Assistant teacher (technical subjects).
My answers reflect the progressive drop in morale over the last number of years and they would have been very different if asked when I was 25.
I think the greatest dissatisfaction is due to the fact that teachers can rise to great heights within the profession on academic ability and

possess little or no ability in man-management or even classroom teaching. It is the low level of professionalism in management terms which I find has had the most impact on my job satisfaction.

Teacher !:

I feel that I can say that if I obtain little job satisfaction that is because of the job as a whole, not because I am dissatisfied with any one facet of it. I would simply prefer to do something else but wishes have to be tempered with practicality.

eg., lots of money + enjoying what you do = very happy with job,
lots of money = content with job,
enjoying what you do = content with job.

Teaching does not have enough of either but its not bad enough to take the risks of changing unless an exceptional opportunity appears then I'd probably take it.

Head of English department:

We have lost the old philosophical consensus. Teachers are often divided (and often disagree passionately) about the aims of education, school policy and organisation etc. Pressure for change exacerbates the situation. Talk of eg., curriculum review provokes hopes, fears, tensions, arguments and inevitably leaves behind it a residue of bad feeling. Everything is politicised (I'm not just thinking of issues like sexism and elitism - politicisation is the inevitable accompaniment of conflict and disagreement and it can make life very disagreeable).

Bureaucracy and school administration continue to mushroom...meetings multiply - we are always talking about something! Is it any wonder that we sometimes feel exhausted?

The school is less of a community than it used to be and staff are generally less dedicated. Top management can seem remote and obsessed with administration..I detect a growing cynicism among older colleagues perhaps not unconnected with the feeling that (i) the teacher's offering is no longer valued and (ii) that running a school is now conceived primarily in terms of management techniques.

Senior Teacher

I shall retire within six years so can afford to be honest:

(1) classroom teaching and the interests of the child are sacrificed by educational bureaucrats. A fast decreasing portion of time is spent on learning.

(2) I feel very bitter that the government has poured scorn on teachers and on comprehensives and have paid me so little that my family suffered. I advise bright pupils not to teach.

Further confirmation of the character of cluster 4 is shown in Figure 3 where it is compared with cluster 2 on the relative strengths of rewards and values as well as on work centrality, job satisfaction and stress. While the patterns are similar in shape (though not level) for the three facet-free variables and for aspects of working conditions where values exceed rewards, the situation is reversed in the case of roles and classroom practices where cluster 4 members seem to be saying that they do what is required but no longer regard it as important for their job satisfaction

Undoubtedly, however, the most significant finding of the cluster analysis came from examining cluster membership by school and finding that although the members of the other clusters were fairly evenly spread over most of the 20 schools cluster 4 drew 21 per cent of its members from one particular school whereas only 5 per cent would have been expected on the basis of chance alone. It should also be said that, while 25 per cent of the school's teachers were in cluster 4, others were distributed over the other three clusters. However, such a concentration of members from one source calls for explanation. A more detailed examination of the characteristics of the ten cluster 4 teachers at this school suggested more clues; Seven of them (out of 11) held posts of special responsibility, their average age was 41, and their average length of full-time teaching experience was 12 years. This implies that many of them came into teaching as mature entrants and, indeed, seven of them did so. The complaints from cluster 4 members about poor management, bureaucracy and current obsession with administration came from this school but were by no means unique to it.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.

> "If we want to know what man's environment will look like tomorrow in the world of work, we should start with the meaning of work today." (MOW, 1987).

In their international study, the 'Meaning of Work' team found that, out of ten occupational groups, teachers ranked third highest on the measure of work centrality and this study confirms that work matters do have high priority in the lives of English secondary teachers. But what is the significance of work centrality in teachers' lives? Is there a desirable level to ensure a good quality of life for the individual and a satisfactory level of functioning for the system? We have seen that it may be expressed in a number of different ways, not all of which imply commitment to the job. We have found instances of instrumental, expressive and cognitive involvement but the foregoing analyses suggest that these questions cannot be answered in isolation from the relationships between work centrality, job satisfaction and stress, for none of these states are experienced in isolation from each other and often they draw on common sources.

The various strands of evidence that this paper has tried to piece together consistently tell the same story; that work centrality is a function of the circumstances, either acquired or self-imposed that produce heavy workloads. But however willing they may be , most of those who shoulder extra burdens think that they have inadequate support and are inadequately resourced. Evidence from the multiple regressions identifies these factors and, on a theoretical level, tells us that teacher workaholics tend to be driven by their values rather than their perceptions of reality, but leaves us tantalisingly ignorant of the specific blocks to achieving those values and it has been left to the cluster analysis and interview material to fill that gap.

The teachers in this sample are not a homogeneous group with respect to work centrality any more than they are in relation to job satisfaction. From the interview material, Riseborough(1986) and Poppleton (1987)

identified age/experience subcultures within the schools and experienced teachers themselves identified other significant groupings such as the 'veterans,' the 'hierarchy,' and the 'workhorses'. Within the group of new teachers or 'tiros' there were the young teachers and the mature entrants who were bound together by a commonality of high motivational investment in the job and an oppositional stance to many of their more senior colleagues.

The groupings which are revealed by the cluster analysis will certainly include these subgroups though they are defined on a rather different basis of professional orientations and career expectations (or lack of them). The young teachers, with their positive career orientations, are more likely to be found in clusters 1 and 2 while clusters 3 and 4 contain many mid-career teachers and older entrants who have reacted in different ways to the career blockages they have encountered.

Thus, while the cluster analysis confirms the previous findings it shows a more elaborated and satisfying picture of the profession as we know it. It also reveals the missing factor that we all suspect is omnipresent but which is so hard to find among a multiplicity of influences; Factor X is the school. On the surface the school, which contributed a disproportionately high percentage to cluster 4, did not differ from some others in the sample which had started out in life as high status grammar schools and merged with secondary moderns to form comprehensives many years ago. Like others it still operates on a split site which always provides difficult working conditions but, in a further upheaval, it lost its sixth form in local reorganisation. It seems that this continuous period of change may have had heightened impact because of a failure of management to consult, communicate and, collaboratively, to plan in circumstances where teachers' careers were at stake. Any explanation of why this cluster (and school) contains such a high proportion of mature entrants and how this might be related to the exceptionally low morale and involvement of this group must remain speculative for the time being. A significant factor may have been the recruitment of redundant staff, who subsequently trained as teachers, from a nearby large industrial concern which closed during the mid-70s. The current government policy of

encouraging untrained mature entrants into the teaching profession emphasises the need to examine more closely the experiences and careers of those already there.

Cluster 4 is a significant, but complicated, case. Firstly, it indicates a possible school effect in addition to the general effect of government and LEA policies which further illuminates the thesis of the 'spoiled career'. Riseborough first described this effect in his account of Phoenix School in 1981 when school mergers were beginning to deny further career advancement to displaced teachers. As further organisational changes have gathered pace and job insecurity has grown, the number of disaffected teachers has grown to the point where future recruitment to the profession is seriously at risk. Secondly, however, it places some question marks over a policy of recruiting untrained mature entrants as one means of making up the shortfall. The changes described here are still continuing and, combined with changes in the examination system, the introduction of a national curriculum, regular testing and radical changes in school government and management describe the work environment of tomorrow for secondary teachers in England.

6. NOTES.

(1) This paper arises from the study: 'Teacher Professional Satisfaction and Its Implications for Secondary Education and Teacher Education' which was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, 1985-1987 as part of their 'Teacher Education Initiative.'

(2) The Burnham salary scales referred to were the main issue at dispute in the Teachers' strike and were replaced by ministerial edict in 1987 (giving rise to further anguish). Scales 1, 2, 3, 4 and 'Senior Teacher' then became incorporated into a main 'professional grade' containing a sequence of incremental incentive allowances.

(3) The questionnaire used in this study was constructed by teams of colleagues from the Universities of Sheffield and Michigan working

collaboratively and supported by the British Council/Fulbright Higher Education Links scheme.

(4) The terms 'restricted' and 'extended' professionals were 'borrowed' (with apologies) from Hoyle (1980) in an earlier study of teaching in disadvantaged schools (Poppleton et al, 1987). He distinguished between restricted and extended 'professionality,' the former indicating thought and practice which is largely intuitive and classroom based while the latter implies "being concerned with locating one's classroom teaching in a broader educational context..'. The meanings implied in this study are somewhat more general, to do with a restricted or extended range of roles and classroom practices It should be emphasised that they do not carry implications of 'good' or 'bad', 'desirable' or 'undesirable.'

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TABLE 1

Distribution of the Sample on the Sampling Criteria.

Socio-Economic Status	No. of Teachers: School Age Range			Total	
	11-16	11-18	13-18	N	Percent
Social Priority	60	74	-	134	19
Occupationally Mixed	80	208	61	349	61
Predominantly 'White Collar'	59	33	111	203	30
Total N	199	315	172	686	
Percent	29	46	25		100

TABLE 2

Percent Responses to each of the Work Centrality Sub-Scales.

	N	A great deal	To some extent	Not much	Very little	M	S.D
1. To what extent is success at work important to you?	678	76	22	1	0	3.74	0.48
2. To what extent do matters connected with your work occupy your thoughts outside working hours?	683	59	37	3	1	3.53	0.63
3. To what extent do you want to know what is happening in school outside your own classroom?	682	64	33	3	0	3.59	0.59

Product - moment Correlation Coefficients between the Three Items.

	1	2	3
1	1.00	.31	.26
2		1.00	.28
3			1.00

All coefficients significant at $p < .01$ (two-tailed).

TABLE 3

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIABLE STATISTICS WITH WORCEN AS DEPENDENT VARIABLE

VARIABLE	dF	F-RATIO	COMMENT
CONTEXT			
School - age range	2/680	2.27	
- size	3/679	1.38	
- s.e. status	3/679	1.47	
- location	3/679	0.49	
TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS			
Gender	1/681	0.43	
Age (group)	7/660	1.21	
Marital status	1/658	8.70**	Marrieds higher than singles
Qualification level	3/679	1.68	
Years experience (group)	5/677	1.57	
Years present school (group)	4/677	0.94	
No. of school moves (group)	4/676	1.49	
Scale (seniority)	4/675	10.67***	Increase with status
Main subject taught	13/655	1.57	
If trained to teach subject	1/676	0.32	
No. teaching groups/cycle	22/643	0.06	
No. fit jobs before entry	3/673	0.12	
⊗(No. job applications in ed.	8/674	0.19	
⊗(No. job applications outside ed.	3/675	0.32	
Union membership	6/672	2.49*	Small unions highest
OTHER WORK VARIABLES			
Satisfaction with occupation	3/677	11.17***	Increase with satisfaction level
Satisfaction with present job	3/677	4.91**	" " " "
Match with expectations	3/678	3.52**	" " match "
Would re-enter again	3/675	3.00*	" " decision
Stress in present job	3/676	17.30***	" " stress "

⊗ during previous year

Levels of significance * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

TABLE 4

1. Regressions of Work Centrality on the perceived degree of presence of (a) 33 working conditions (b) 18 roles and responsibilities and (c) 16 classroom practices.
Significant standardised beta coefficients

(a)**Working Conditions.** (MR = .37; F = 3.11*** ; df = 33/649)

Item	Beta
2. I have the opportunity to help develop school policies	.140**
8. The amount of after-school work is reasonable	-.158***
26. Teachers in this community are regarded with respect	.111*

(b)**Roles and Responsibilities** (MR = .36; F = 5.41***; df = 18/664)

Item	
18. Read professional periodicals	.125**
8. Counsel individual pupils	.092*

(c)**Classroom Practices** (MR = .25; F = 2.81**; df = 16/666)

Item	
12. Give special attention to developing pupils' thinking skills	.075*
6. Build positive relationships between pupils.	.103*

2. Contributions of Work Centrality to Other Work Variables.

(1) **Professional satisfaction** (MR = .12; F = 9.28**; df = 1/674) (satisfaction with occupation; match with expectations; would re-enter again)	.116**
(2) **Job satisfaction** (MR = .09; F = 5.80*; df =1/673) (satisfaction with present job)	.092*
(3) **Overall work satisfaction** (MR = .12; F = 9.83**; df = 1/675) (professional satisfaction ; job satisfaction)	.119**
(4) **Stress** (MR = .25; F = 46.16***; df = 1/675)	.253***

TABLE 5

Correlation coefficients of work values and rewards in each dimension with each other and with OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION AND WORKCEN (N = 684

Dimension		(1) r(value/reward)	(2) r(JOBSAT)	(3) r(WORKCEN)
'Conditions of my work'				
Management/morale				
	Value	.062	-.001	.249***
	Reward		.402***	.108**
Teaching support				
	Value	-.019	.006	.132***
	Reward		.391***	.030
Material rewards				
	Value	-.236***	-.112**	.113**
	Reward		.328***	.064*
Workload support				
	Value	-.093**	-.093**	.021
	Reward		.244***	-.146***
Opportunity/challenge				
	Value	.255***	.146***	.326***
	Reward		.395***	.152***
Collegial relationships				
	Value	.250***	.097**	.269***
	Reward		.382***	.031
'My roles and responsibilities'				
Pastoral role				
	Value	.607***	.214***	.360***
	Reward		.298***	.236***
Professional development				
	Value	.480***	.034	.326***
	Reward		.074*	.248***
Training responsibility				
	Value	.445***	.026	.221***
	Reward		.114**	.156***
Curriculum/management role				
	Value	.509***	.115***	.377***
	Reward		.232***	.222***
'My classroom practice'				
Pupil-centred pedagogy				
	Value	.387***	.096**	.365***
	Reward		.020***	.182***
Behaviour control				
	Value	.331***	.086*	.196***
	Reward		.144**	.091**
Teacher/pupil relationships				
	Value	.521***	.240***	.280***
	Reward		.271***	.161***

* $p = \leq .05$

** $p = < .01$

*** $p = \leq .001$

TABLE 6

The prediction of WORKEN from work values and rewards: regression coefficients (N = 686)

Dimension		(1) β(within each dimension)	(2) β(across all dimensions)	(3) β(predicted)
'Conditions of my work'				
Management/morale				
	Value	.194***	.050	.088*
	Reward	.076*	.070	
Teaching support				
	Value	.075	-.006	.029
	Reward	.035	.005	
Material rewards				
	Value	.102**	-.011	.037
	Reward	.078*	.030	
Workload support				
	Value	-.022	-.059	.138***
	Reward	-.146***	-.117**	
Opportunity/challenge				
	Value	.244***	.085	.100**
	Reward	.084*	.058	
Collegial relationships				
	Value	.214***	.078	.108**
	Reward	-.046	-.084*	
'My roles and responsibilities'				
Pastoral role				
	Value	.306***	.089*	.136**
	Reward	.046	.020	
Professional development				
	Value	.245***	.046	.129**
	Reward	.116**	.089*	
Training responsibility				
	Value	.173***	-.024	.056
	Reward	.071	.040	
Curriculum/management role				
	Value	.312***	.125**	.123**
	Reward	.038	-.019	
'My classroom practices'				
Pupil-centred pedagogy				
	Value	.269***	.123*	.110**
	Reward	.056	-.008	
Behaviour control				
	Value	.086*	-.014*	.053
	Reward	.052	.062	
Teacher/pupil relationships				
	Value	.220***	.056	.058
	Reward	.056	-.009	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

*** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 7

Statistics relating to the regression of WORKCEN on 22 independent variables grouped into five blocks.

Order of Entry	Block	MR	R^2	R^2 Change
Block 1	Self	.120	.014	.014
Block 2	Career	.272	.074	.060
Block 3	Context	.273	.075	.015
Block 4	Specific dimensions	.520	.265	.250
Block 5	Job satisfaction and stress	.552	.304	.054

TABLE 8

The simultaneous regression of WORKCEN on 7 demographic variables before and after the entry of 13 specific job dimensions. Stepwise coefficients in brackets.

Variable	Beta before	Beta after
Age	-.071	-.022
Sex	.087	.093
Level of qualification	.028	.026
Length of teaching experience	-.161* (-.112*)	-.075
Seniority (scale)	.330***(.319***)	.128* (.130***)
School size	.019	.043
School location	.000	-.003
Management/morale		.081
Teaching support		.022
Material rewards		.013
Workload support		.119**(.111**)
Opportunity/challenge		.090* (.099**)
Collegial relationships		.102*
Pastoral role		.118**(.145***)
Professional development		.129**(.134***)
Trainee responsibility		.019
Curr./management role		.126**(.126**)
Pupil-centred pedagogy		.111**(.152***)
Behaviour control		.057
Teacher/pupil relationships		.065

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

***$p < .001$

FIGURE 1

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF VARIABLES FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF JOB SATISFACTION IN TEACHING

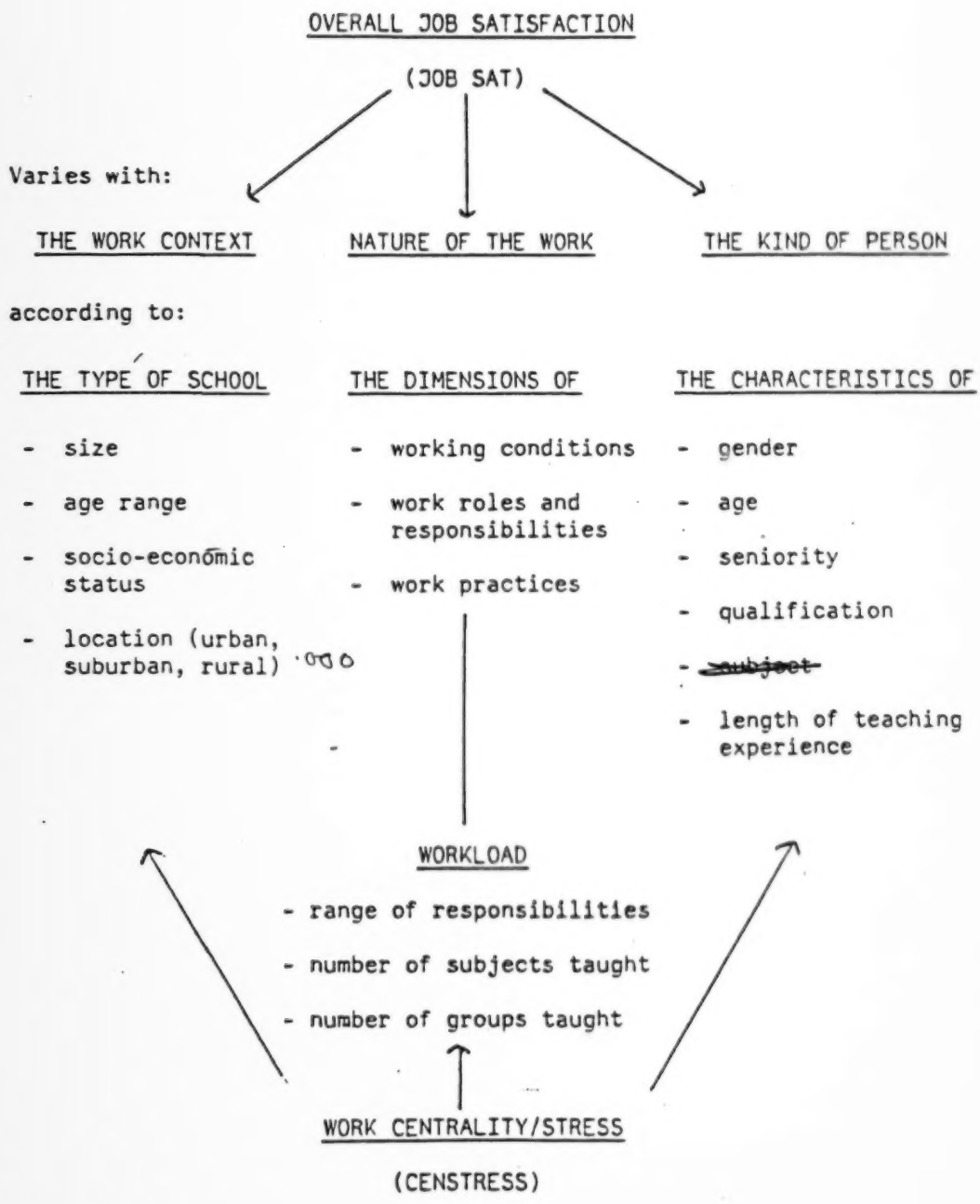
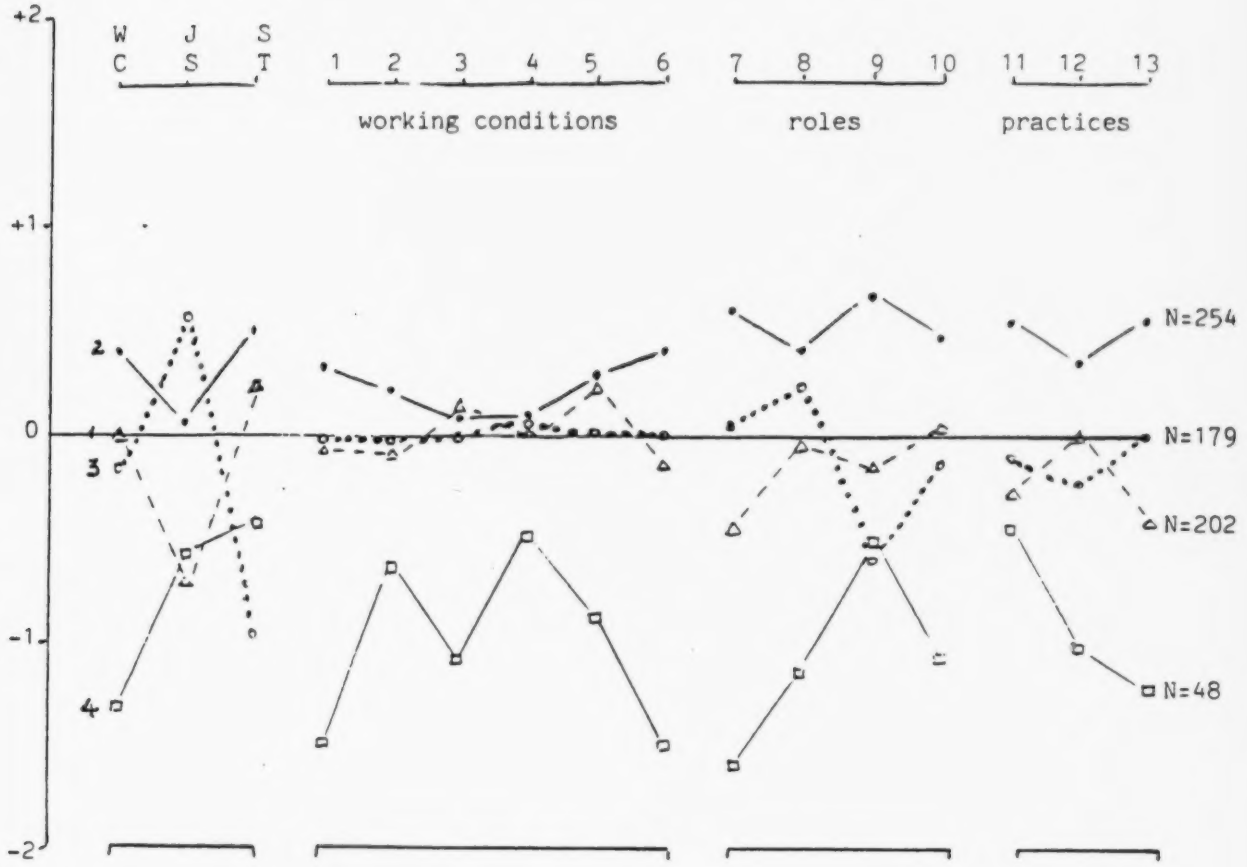


FIGURE 2

The Standardised Means of 4 Clusters on

3 facet-free and 13 facet-specific variables



KEY

WC=work centrality

JS=job satisfaction

ST=stress

1. management/morale
2. teaching support
3. material rewards
4. workload support
5. opportunity/challenge
6. collegial relationships
7. pastoral role
8. professional development
9. training responsibility
10. curriculum/management
11. pupil-centred pedogogy
12. behaviour control
13. teacher/pupil relationships

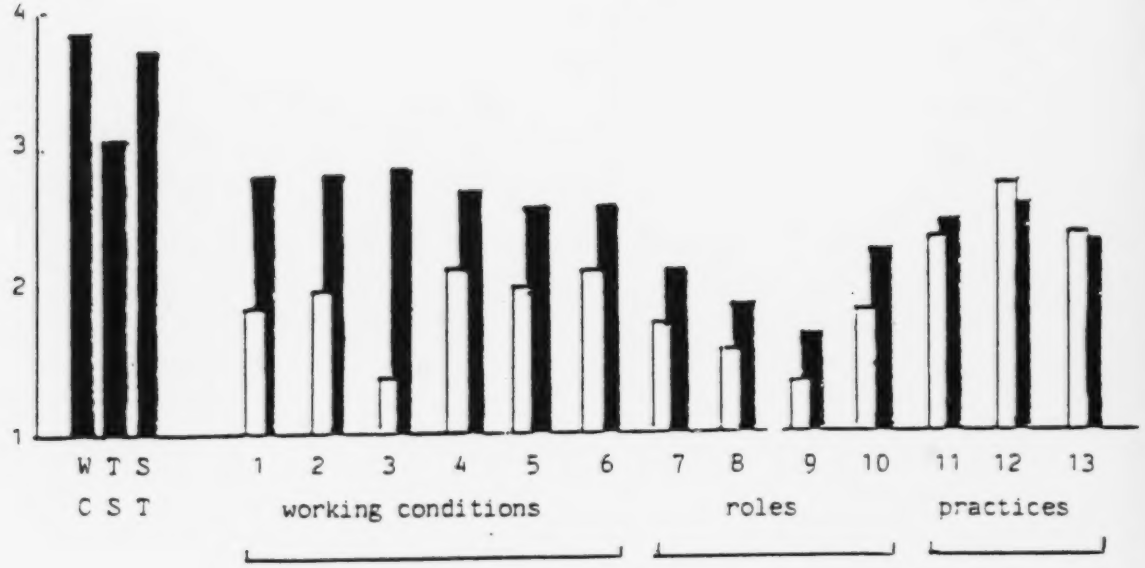
FIGURE 3

The Profiles of Clusters 2 and 4 on

3 facet-free and 13 facet-specific variables

(based on unstandardised means)

CLUSTER 2



CLUSTER 4